to maintain, which others seized from them, and suzerains became vassals. But in spite of these contingencies of war, the Tuareg attach great importance to blood origins and always respect high-born people, even though they may be their vanquished /adversaries/.

Thus, at the present time, the nobles of the Ahaggar and the Ajjer may be seen to seek alliances with women of the fallen fraction of the Imenan Sultans. This adds to the luster of their high origin a certain character of religious nobility, which is much appreciated among Moslems.

Monogamy and matriarchy. -- To understand Tuareg society, one must remember two important facts, facts which are, moreover, not completely independent of each other, monogamy and matriarchy.

/151/ While the Tuareg are Moslems and have polygamous peoples as neighbors, it is astonishing to note that they practice monogamy. This is an evident indication that women occupy an important place in their society, in no way comparable to what they occupy among the Arabs. This was very striking to the first travelers who thought they saw traces of an ancient Christianity in the persistence of monogamy. This argument might be held if we did not know, on the other hand, that the social organization of the Tuareg rests on matriarchy, an ancient custom much earlier than the Christian era, which explains monogamy and the particularly high position of women.

Gautier writes on this subject: "It may be said that the Tuareg practice chivalrous gallantry; the expression is inadequate only because of the association it evokes. Our chivalry has a Christian origin; the respect of the Tuareg for women has much deeper and more remote reasons. It goes back to matriarchy, which is earlier than the notion of the state and even that of the family. It is a living witness of completely primordial humanity, a sentiment, if I may say so, of the quaternary age." (1)

1. La conquête du Sahara /The Conquest of the Sahara/, p. 33.

565 [511] [177] Although their present situation is more prosperous than that of the Imochar, as we have said, they do not stop at considerations of prestige of the latter. Since the occupation, they have been able to raise an appreciable income through animal husbandry and caravans.

565 631 [642] The Imrad are organized by tribes, electing a chief and respecting matriarchal rules like the Imochar. They administer their affairs internally as they see fit, without intervention of the amenokal or the Imochar in their affairs.

162 In all of the confederations, the Imrad are more numerous than the Imochar, in a ratio of one to five (northern Tuareg) and one to eight (Ioullimmiden).

181 565 721 [727] They are of a more peaceful nature than the Imochar, perhaps because they are less virile and less courageous. Still, they were often taken on raids against their will by the Imochar, and, aided by their taste for gain, they began before long to pillage on their own each time that a good opportunity presented itself. They often organized expeditions on their own initiative, but, if they were successful, they had to pay a certain share of the loot to the nobles. This was a guarantee for the future, the Imochar said, knowing full well that a raid brings about a counterraid, and that they were liable to suffer /166/ the repercussions of the "misconduct" of their vassals one day or another.

565 701 Some Imrad even acquire renown as great warriors, and some Imochar have agreed to place themselves under their command during a raid, bowing to their superiority.

[714] There are ordinary Imrad (goatherds) and warrior Imrad among the Ioullimmiden. The former did not take part in war, while the others were in all combats and, for that reason, had a right to the same armaments as the Imochar, but without the buckler.

565 631 Some tribes even became so strong militarily that they succeeded in freeing themselves completely from Imochar guardianship. This is the case of the Kel ~~Gossi~~ /Gossi/ from the loop of the Niger.

565 [582] Imochar sometimes marry Imrad women who are renowned for their beauty, but no inverse cases have come to our knowledge.

563 become sedentary, exists in the Sudan, in the Niafunké region.

563 There seems to be a category of low-class Iborelliten who are
567 referred to as Irraouellan. Nicolas considers them former captives
[727] who have been liberated. Chudeau reported an Irraouellan tribe, whose members were said to be freedmen or descendants of former captives. He adds that the children of a Tuareg man and a slave are by law Irraouellan.

We shall add to these different definitions that in the Aïr a slave woman who marries a Tuareg becomes free as does her family, and the children born of her marriage are then called Ikalalen.

[184] Among the Kel-Ahaggar, we do not find any true Iborelliten or Irraouellan tribes, although there are men belonging to these social classes.

567 The Iklan. -- The Iklan (singular, Akli; feminine singular, Taklit) are the serfs, or slaves, of the Tuareg. The name Iklan comes from the Tamashek root Kl, meaning "black being"; (2)

[192 144]

2. Nicolas, op. cit., pp. 579-586.

and indeed these people are foreign to the Tuareg race. They are Negroes of all origins, formerly captured in the Sudan and reduced to slavery by the Tuareg. They form a separate class, which is not a tribe, except when they are freed conditionally or completely. Then they are called Iklan-n-égef or Iderfan, depending on which is the case.

[144] They have founded a family among the Tuareg and given birth to a new race with the most diverse characteristics, from which the white element is not excluded.

[181] Slaves are employed in keeping the flocks, and in the household work of the camp; they share the life of their masters and from their contact with them have acquired an independent nature which makes them love the freedom of nomadism, so much so that it would now be difficult for them to resume the sedentary life of their Ancestors.

were chased by Arab marabouts at the end of the fifteenth century. It is plausible that a number of Jews from Tamentit, particularly those practicing the crafts of jeweler or blacksmith, very respected professions among the Tuareg, found refuge with them. Perhaps the Tuareg received a new artistic influence through them. Their knowledge /177/ of fire and treatment of ores must have permitted the introduction of a larger scale of iron industry among the Tuareg, as well as the use of metal instruments which certainly could not have been very developed before that time; in general, the techniques of the nomadic shepherds was limited to leather and wood. There is no doubt of the artistic relationship between Tamentit jewelry and the Jewish goldsmith's work from North Africa, on the one hand, and the goldsmith's craft now in vogue among the Tuareg, on the other; this can justify the opinion that part of the Enaden are of Israelite origin. But Sudanese elements have also contributed to the physical formation of the group. We must see the peculiar Tuareg art, at the same time heavy in its forms and delicate in detail, through this heteroclite mixture.

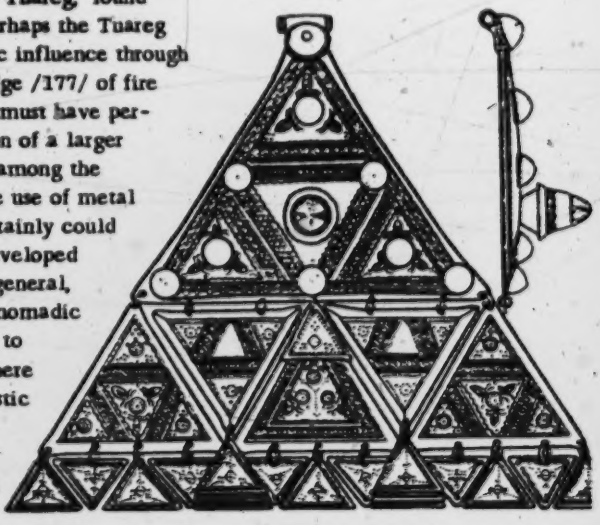

Fig. 18. Silver pendant worn around the neck by Ahaggar women. In the composition are found the triangular motifs common to Kabyle art and to some Berber tribes from Atlas.

The Enaden of the Ahaggar are few in number. They include five or six families who recently settled in the country following raids on them by the Ihaggaren. /178/ Most of them are natives of Adrar des Iforas

In addition, they robbed caravans who happened into their country, hatefully ransoming the voyagers. Sometimes they went to empty the granaries of the sedentary people of the oases or the Sudanese villages, capturing Negroes and Negresses to sett as slaves.

When peace reigned in their country, they willingly organized /218/ caravans to go to the Tidikelt or Touat oases and bring back dates, or else to the Sudan to get supplies of millet. They also made themselves the protectors of caravans crossing their country, naturally making the caravaneer pay a consistently high duty in merchandise.

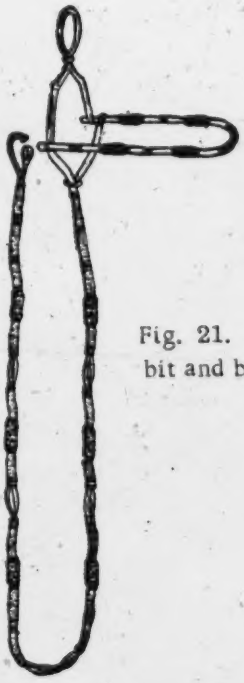

Fig. 21. Camel bit and bridle.

The Ahaggar has famous salt mines in the region called Amadror which lies to the east of the Tafedest massif in a large depression. They are an appreciable resource for the Ihaggaren, but manpower is needed to exploit them. Then, transportation and circulation demand a general state of peace in which the numerous herds of pack camels can be protected from possible surprise attacks and raids. That is why the Amadror salt deposits remained unexploited for a long time before the French occupation, because of the state of perpetual war existing between Ahaggar Tuareg and Tassili Tuareg.

The tent is occupied by only one household, and each of the married couple has his own side. The man's side is to the left as one enters the door; there he keeps his mehari saddle, his weapons, and his bags of salt. To the right is the woman's place, where she keeps her bag of personal things, her saddle if she has one, the bags containing the food supplies, and the kitchen implements which she has charge of.

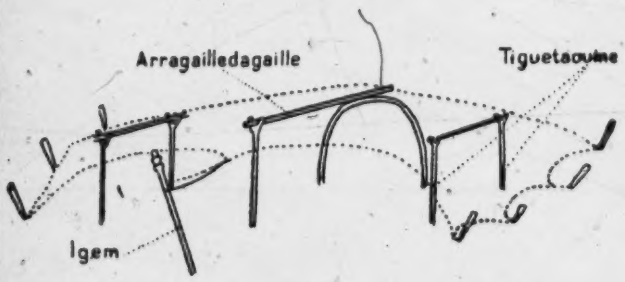

Fig. 26. Tent used by the Agouh-n-Tehlé. Sometimes the stake supporting the aragailledagaille may be replaced by a second arch. In some tribes, particularly among the Kel Ahnet, the arches were placed crosswise.

In summer when it is very hot, the Tuareg sometimes use straw huts, as much to save hides as to be a bit more comfortable. The leather tent, in fact, is made almost useless by the heat, and nomads often seek shelter during the heat of the day under neighboring trees when there are any or else in the rocks.

Captives never have tents. They build themselves little shelters with a few branches on which are hung scraps of leather or cloth.

It falls entirely to the women to put up the tents.

Granaries. -- One of the most characteristic facts of nomadic life is its lack of foresight in questions of food. For the most part, the nomad lives from one day to the next, following the seasons, without accumulating anything. This is somewhat the case for the Tuareg. Still, the Sahara is not a country where one can find supplies easily.

264 Before the French occupation the Tuareg as a general rule had only one meal a day, in the evening, after milking the animals. During the day they contented themselves with drinking a little milk.

252 The national dish of the Tuareg is asink, which is a porridge of
262 millet cooked in water and moistened with butter or whey. This meal is especially popular in winter and during the entire cold season. During the very hot months, they prefer a beverage of water or whey in which they throw millet flour, diluted sometimes with dry cheese or powdered dates. This is alakoh. Dates are also eaten /237/ in summer, ground and mixed with water or milk.

252 When the Tuareg kill a sheep, they prepare the intestines which they enclose inside the stomach. After having tied the two extremities of the stomach, they put it on a bed of ashes to cook. This way of cooking, which is the one most commonly used by hunters, is called abatoul. Meats are prepared boiled or cooked under the ashes. Those that are boiled are particularly the ones which were previously dried (wild sheep, gazelle, sometimes sheep). In this case, they are first crushed between two stones, for they are as hard as wood; the meat is then spread in pieces on a dish of asink.

The Tuareg do not prepare roast meat over embers, but they place it under the ashes. When they want to cook a whole sheep, they open it in two and then put it under the ashes, taking care to turn it once during the roasting.

252 For great occasions -- religious festivals, marriages, or re-
262 ceptions for prominent guests -- the Tuareg butcher young camels. They serve them with a couscous of coarse-grained wheat.

The domestic animals slaughtered are goats, sheep, camels, and cattle when there are any. They do not eat horses, asses, or dogs.

[727] Cooking is done by the captives, close by the masters' tents.

264 Men take their meals by themselves and receive the food first. Women and children eat in their turn,, and the Iklan receive the rest.

177 In the last few years a number of notables, including the
492 amenokal, travel on horseback, but only when they travel in the
643 Lower Ahaggar which is furrowed by wide valleys, allowing them
133 to avoid rocks.

101 The Ihaggaren never travel on zebus and never use them for
492 transportation. In the Sudan, however, this animal is used as a saddle animal and a beast of burden.

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Chapter 2

War and Raiding

721 The Tuareg distinguish two kinds of warring expeditions: war declared between fractions or peoples, which they call annemensi or amdjer; and raids, edjen or egen, which aim to pillage a camp or a herd by surprise.

Although war was rather rare, raids were, on the contrary, quite frequent. They were caused by the atavistic taste of the Tuareg for this sort of expedition. For the occasion they gathered together the most disparate elements, all moved by the same spirit of adventure and battle.

182 When an expedition against a camp was decided upon, those
221 present tried to gather the suitable number of men. They were
361 most frequent in summer, for, since the camps were forced to
721 spread out in the pastures, it was easier to surprise them.

War, on the other hand, was waged in winter, when the caravans had returned and the provisions necessary for the life of the tribe had been assured for the long months; this relieved the warriors of any material preoccupation about the lot of their families.

727 Each man had to procure arms for himself, and if he did not
426 own his own mehari, he found someone to lend him one; in case
714

727 of captures, however, he had to give half of the captured animals
714 to the lender. In case of failure and death of the camel, he did
426 not have to reimburse him.

724 The men met, discussed the planned expedition, and uttered
726 a ritual formula (narhaï allar) which bound them together for the duration of the expedition, during which time they were to give mutual assistance to one another.

Then they named a chief who was not necessarily an Amajer /sing. of Imochar - Ed./ but a man renowned for his courage, his /322/ suitability, and his experience on expeditions of this kind. Then the group left, preceded by scouts.

726 All baggage was left behind. Everyone mounted on camel back, taking only the bare necessities for the road, for it was necessary to go quite fast and try to keep the animals in good condition. Before sunrise, the raid was already on its way, and the rapid pace was maintained without stopping until evening. The men ate only
[262 a few dates at noon, did not take their siestas, and ate a meal
264] only in the evening -- all was sacrificed to the speed of the march, which was the key to success.

Nearing their goal, the raiders forced their march even more if that were possible, and they often divided into two parties; one was entrusted with seizing the animals and bringing them to a specified point, the other created a diversion in the enemy camps to sidetrack them.

[411] The surprised enemy was attacked with gunshots by a few men deployed as riflemen, while meharists swooped down on them, hurled their javelins, and then soon came to hand-to-hand fighting. The people who were attacked, for their part, tried to find out the strength of the assailants, and depending on the case they retreated or themselves attacked.

In spite of this martial deployment and the vigor of the attack, these combats were not very deadly, in general, and did not always cause deaths.

721 When raids were led against Sudanese camps, they were as in-
727 terested in the Negroes and Negresses as they were in the camels.
527 The kidnappers kept some of them to serve as servants and sold the others on the markets of In-Salah and the Touat.

726 Once the booty was stolen, the raiders went by forced march to the point agreed upon in advance, where they rejoined the other group of meharists.

The raided people, on the other hand, organized themselves, but they did not try to overtake the raiders immediately and did not wear themselves out in vain pursuit. As the return route of the raiders was known, they tried to reach a well where they had to pass; if they were successful in arriving before them and cutting them off from water, the real combat began, this time fierce and often quite deadly.

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531
326
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Fig. 55. Tuareg lance. The iron blade is decorated with copper inlays. The part where the hand is put is covered with leather, and a little leather loop placed behind is intended to hold the index finger which gives greater propulsion to the lance when it is thrown.

Hard pressed, the Tuareg formed in a square behind their camels and defended themselves under cover of their bucklers; /323/ when they saw it was impossible to take possession of the well, they abandoned their loot. The battle came to an end, and the raiders were rarely pursued. In the opposite camp, a certain number of men were left as sentries to guard against return offensives, and the others tried to gather up their animals and lead them back to the douar /encampment/.

727 When the raiding party was safe, the men divided up the booty in more or less equal parts, depending on each person's merits during the fight. But in some tribes, customs related to the tioussé demanded

727 that the Amrid paid part of it to the Imochar. The lender of arms or meharis was compensated in his turn, and that part of the booty was called abellag.

726 The Tuareg had the reputation of acting treacherously in battle and not always following the rules of chivalry for Saharian war.

In battle a man who threw himself at the feet of his conqueror and touched his clothes placed himself under his protection and
727 had a right to live; but the Tuareg did not always value this rule and often killed their prisoners.

When a tribe had been pillaged illegally, that is, when there had been no previous acts of hostility authorizing reprisal, a delegation of warriors from that tribe came to the opposing camp to try to negotiate for the return of the captures. This is what the Arabs call the myad, a term which has been adopted by the Tuareg. There again the Tuareg did not always show themselves to be very chivalrous, and they often savagely massacred the defenseless ambassadors.

726 During wars and raids, women enjoy the rare privilege of
562 being respected by the combatants. During the operations of the French occupation, men were often seen fleeing the camps, abandoning the women /324/ and children to the conquerors.
[648] This conduct has often caused the Tuareg to be accused of cowardice. This was a false intepretation of the facts, for the Tuareg acted that way prompted by the immunity which women enjoyed.

184 It is shameful during a raid to forget this rule of protection
726 and do violence to women, strip them of their clothes, or
562 penetrate into their tents. The infractions committed were often the acts of unscrupulous persons without honor. Most of the Imrad and Iklan, it appears, are in the habit of stripping women of their clothes and their jewels, going so far as to leave them completely nude, and it even happens that they rape them. The

2:Briggs E-4, 5 (ca. 1956) 1958
M525 Tuareg M525
Hoggar

721 simple, and this activity can be divided into two main types according to the chief object in view. Raiding for booty was practised irregularly but fairly often, especially in times of hardship or in connection with intertribal feuds. Sneak attacks by small bands who lifted livestock and then promptly fled with it were typical. Slave raiding was practised on a fairly regular basis. In the nomad camps of the
727 Ahaggar the number of Negro domestic servants is usually about equal to the number of Tuareg present, and this labor force used to be replenished when necessary by raids on Negro villages in the desert fringe of the Sudan and occasionally even on Tuareg camps in the Aïr, Tamesna and Adrar n Ifoghas regions. The present writer knows a mulatto freedwoman who was taken in this way from the Aïr some 40 years ago, and has long been happily settled at Tamanrasset; and she is by no means an exception. Thus raiding, the fourth corner post of Tuareg economy in the Ahaggar, was primarily a mechanism designed to keep the supply of livestock, both animal and human, at a satisfactory level in an area where the environment caused a steady normal decrease in the local supply.

Economic Summary. We have seen that pas-
177 toralism was the central column and crop
182 shares, trading, protection and raiding the four corner posts of the economic structure of the Ahaggar Tuareg. With the coming of European domination the last two pillars were kicked away, the third buckled and bent to a mere fraction of its former height, and the roof fell in along three sides and part of the fourth. The Ahaggar Tuareg presumably never lived a life of ease—no pastoralist can in such a rigorous environment—but their greatest perils used to be those of warfare. These dangers have been removed completely by the new European rulers of the area, and yet the Tuareg of the Ahaggar as a whole are undoubtedly in worse economic shape today than they have ever been before. Their old
182 culture, whatever some may think of it on the basis of modern European standards, was remarkably well adapted to conditions in their chosen homeland. The destruction of two of its five main supports and the progressive weakening of a third have thrown their economic structure so seriously out of balance that the whole edifice is obviously doomed,

which brings to our minds the idea of the serf attached to the glebe and sold with the domain which he cultivated, but rather as "client, bondsman, tributary." 565 631

In fact, if the amr'id pays the "tioussé," or tribute, to the noble, if he "lets him taste a little of what he has," according to his expression, if he is dependent on the noble, he nevertheless enjoys a freedom of action which the serf of the Middle Ages did not know. He has a right to the noble's protection if he is attacked, but he marches and fights with him armed with the same arms. In a raid he also shares with him and receives his portion of the loot, a portion which varies according to the tribe and which seems to have been fixed according to an ancient contract, in exchange for the protection granted. [701] [727]

And we will find the most convincing proof in the appointment of the amenokal. The imr'ad take part in this: it is they who speak first and state whether they accept the new amenokal, whether they have confidence in him, whether they promise /49/ faithfully to pay him the "tioussé." And he, on his part, promises to give them help and protection against all. 565 631 643

The noble makes it a point of honor to keep this promise. It would be a shame, "el r'ar," according to his expression (from the Arab word "el aâr" عار, not to avenge an insult or an injury rendered to one who pays him the "tioussé." 558 565 577 631

Chapter II

The Tobol. Inheritance

Concerning the tobol. The "tobol" originally was a drum made of a large gourd and covered with stretched hide, which the chief of the tribe sounded to gather his clients /dependents/ to tell them that pastures must be changed, etc. It was the insignia of command. 202 534 643 565

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Air

Agg Elkher, in his second period of reign. He is very old, and the French consider his son the actual representative of the group.

On the ceremonial installment of a drum-chief in the past I have gathered conflicting information. People of the noble Kel Ferouan clan claim that the drum-chief should be installed by a vassal Tuareg of the group, who appointing the chief would wrap a new veil or a turban around his head. But there are many vassals who say that a drum-chief should be installed in this way by the Sultan, and that in the past when dissatisfied with a drum-chief they would ask permission of the Sultan to dismiss him. I believe that this latter statement is officially correct, but it is possible that in the 19th century Kel Ferouan drum-chiefs as the most powerful chiefs of Air were installed by vassals.

The drum-chief should sanction the election of all chiefs of clans belonging to his group. He should install them ceremoniously providing them with a veil as at his own installation. When a vassal chief was installed in this way he should give a camel to the drum-chief. At present when the Kel Ferouan drum-chief has little authority while the Sultan has gained prestige and power, the instalment of a vassal chief may be undertaken by the Sultan, but this is against traditional rules.

In the past the drum-chief was considered the true owner of the land inhabited by his vassals. The drum-chief, it is said, would allot a particular area to each clan of vassals, but members of a vassal clan were not allowed to defend their territory against other vassals of the same group, as all land belonged to the drum-chief.

The drum-chief had the right to half of the bride-wealth *(taggalt)*, or one camel, from any vassal marriage, and he should receive or inherit a camel at any death among his vassals. These payments seem to have been the true marks of vassalship, but the vassals had many other obligations towards their drum-chief.

One of the very important functions of the drum-chief was his position as the war-leader of the whole Kel Ferouan group. In battle the noble Kel Ferouan Tuareg with the drum-chief would keep behind the vassals who formed the true soldiers of the group. The drum-chief would lead the battle and he alone could decide on war and peace. It was also his right to undertake the division of war-booty for which there were three distinct terms:–

1) *Temargedas*, that is booty taken on raids organized by the drum-chief. The term refers to any kind of booty, e.g. riding camels, she-camels, horses, cattle, etc. Half of such booty according to the noble Tuareg was the right of the drum-chief while the other half should be given to the vassals. Vassal Tuareg nowadays know extremely little about these old rules, but I met one vassal Tuareg who claimed that one seventh of the booty should go to the drum-chief.

2) *Tesuit*, that is booty taken from foreign groups of Tuareg, or from Arab and Tebu pastoralists attacking camps of the Kel Ferouan group. In other words this kind of booty comprises riding camels and horses taken from assailants who run away, are killed, or are made prisoners. Under such circumstances it is said that the drum-chief would take a number of riding animals at his discretion. A

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Air

particular case is related of a group of Ioullemmeden Tuareg attacking a camp of Kel Ferouan vassals who made a counterattack and won the battle. They made four prisoners and took as booty two horses and several riding camels (unknown how many). As his part the drum-chief took one horse and five camels. But he also took the four prisoners to his camp. He kept them there for about a month, then they were released, dressed in new clothes, and mounted on excellent riding camels with good saddles.

3) *Ekachchadi*, that is booty taken by vassals during raids carried out without the permission of their drum-chief. In this case the drum-chief would take all booty for himself and leave nothing for the vassals who were not allowed to engage in warfare on their own account – unless attacked by foreign raiders.

The drum-chief had other income from his subjects who paid him an annual fee termed *sadaka*. This fee, it is said, was paid not only by vassals but also by noble households of the Kel Azel clan. The sadaka fees were collected on behalf of the drum-chief by people of the Echchikhen and by negroid blacksmiths, who form a particular and rather numerous caste. There were definite rules for the payment of sadaka. It was computed from the size of herds and flocks of all domestic animals with the exception of donkeys for which no payment was made. As an example can here be mentioned the payments for camel herds:–

Size of Herd.	*Sada a.*
10 camels	2 goats
15 camels	3 goats
25 camels	1 young camel
50 camels	1 full-grown camel
100 camels	2 full-grown camels.

The Echchikhen and the blacksmiths took the sadaka animals to the drum-chief. He gave some of them to the collectors who were themselves exempted from taxation. The bulk of the animals was sold at the market of Agadez and most of the proceeds given to poor people by the drum-chief, who would keep a small part for himself.

The drum-chief had the supreme jurisdiction over his group. In all internal matters the drum-chief and not the Sultan was the supreme judge. In difficult cases he would consult Islamic jurists of Agadez or the Echchikhen. All members of the Kel Ferouan group could be fined by the drum-chief and indemnities *(edziet)* were then given to the chief. In case of murder the killed person's kinsmen had the right of blood-revenge to which the drum-chief could make no objection. But if the family of the person killed consented, the drum-chief could take all livestock from the murderer and pass it over to the children of the slain man whose kin in that case lost their right of revenge. Apparently there has never been any fixed size of blood-wealth among the Kel Ferouan Tuareg in contrast to the two groups of Northern Tuareg and Arab Tribes of the Sahara.

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Ahaggar

Nowadays the price is determined by the Amenokal. When a tenant dies his rights and obligations should ideally be taken over by a maternal kinsmen. Traditionally the usufructs of a sub-area are reserved for people of the same matrilineage or section as the tenant, but should the tenant be identical with the chief of the whole clan they belong to all clan members. These traditional rules, however, do not seem to be observed very strictly nowadays except for hunting of barbary sheep in certain areas. Lhote is wrong in stating that the chief of the clan has the right to forbid grazing and protect pastures in the whole clan territory (Lhote 1955, p. 279). In the two clans here described this right is invariably vested in the tenants of sub-areas.

As the supreme judge of his drum-group the Amenokal can claim various indemnities *(ediet)* among which have just been mentioned those paid for violation of the rights of his land-tenants. In case of adultery, for instance, the Amenokal can claim three camels from the seducer and one camel from the unfaithful wife. If a man catches his wife committing adultery he has the right to kill her as well as the seducer on the spot, and formerly the families of persons thus killed had no right to revenge or blood-wealth. Neither was blood-wealth paid in case of murder within the clan, but the Amenokal might then claim an indemnity from the murderer. When the murderer and the person killed were from different clans, blood-wealth had to be paid to the family of the slain man by the kinsmen of the murderer. The Amenokal could not deny his subjects the right of revenge if they refused to accept blood-wealth, and if blood-wealth was paid he had no right to any part from it. Blood-wealth was fixed at one hundred she-camels for a slain man and fifty she-camels for a woman, but it may be doubted whether so many camels were ever paid. Revenge and blood-wealth have been abolished by the French administration which has given the Amenokal more power over his subjects than he had in the past. To-day the authority of the Amenokal is almost unlimited. If, for instance, a man will not allow his son to marry the woman he likes, the son may go to the Amenokal and ask him whether he considers the marriage suitable, and if the Amenokal agrees the father will have to yield to his son. If a man descending from parents of different clans continues to live together with people of his father's clan after his father's death, the chief of his mother's clan may complain to the Amenokal, who will then order the man to take up residence with his maternal kinsmen. Nowadays the Amenokal can decide on the most personal problems of his subjects, and he is constantly visited by many Tuareg desirous of obtaining his advice.

In the past the Tuareg of the Kel Rela drum-group are said frequently to have shown disobedient to the Amenokal. But the vassals would generally support him when he organized raids against other Tuareg as the war-leader of the Kel Rela group. The Amenokal had the right to a tribute named *abellag* comprising half of all booty taken by vassals of his drum-group. The vassals were allowed to engage in raiding without his consent, but he was the one who decided on war and large-scale raiding.

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Ahaggar
Air

565 651 The noble Tuareg may ask vassals to render them minor services as, for instance, to guard domestic animals or to look for animals lost in the desert, and one noble Tuareg told me that he had camels guarded by vassals; this was also practiced in the past. But nowadays the noble Tuareg have no rights over their vassals. The [178] vassals may refuse any gift or service demanded by noble Tuareg, and there are [789] even noble Tuareg who wear amulettes which are believed to induce vassals to give the things wanted.

565 It is evident that it was very profitable for noble Tuareg to have vassals, but these had also many advantages from their relation to noble masters. The nobility [721] formed a particular class of warriors and raiders who were constantly roaming the country looking for enemies. They protected the caravan roads, and allowed the vassals to use their camels on trading expeditions. The noble Tuareg would also [422] leave a surplus of their livestock among the vassals who had usufructs of these animals.

The master of a temażlait-relation might ask his vassals to follow him on raids, but he could not summon them for warfare. This right belonged exclusively to the [643] Amenokal, who would also receive *abellag* or half of the booty taken by all vassals [727] of his drum-group. It is interesting to note, however, that if vassals borrowed for [426] raiding riding camels from their noble masters, the latter received a tribute also known as *abellag*, comprising half of the booty left when one half had already been given to the Amenokal. The temażlait-masters were apparently without any judicial [692] authority, which rested in the hands of the Amenokal. We may say that the smaller units within the drum-group – the temażlait-relations – were predominantly economic units, but structurally they had traits in common with the political unit, the drum-group.

The Origin of Tuareg Political Systems.

565 192 This concluding chapter on the origin of Tuareg political systems can adequately open with an analysis of the terms for the classes here referred to as noble and vassal Tuareg.

In Air as well as in other Southern Tuareg groups all Tuareg whatever their social status, are sometimes known as *Imacheren* (sing. *Amacher*), but correctly this word should be used only for Tuareg of the noble class. Nicolas says that the word refers to such qualities as "vaillance" and "bravade" (Nicolas 1950a, p. 188f.). In Northern Tuareg dialect the equivalent word is *Imohar* (sing. *Amahar*). It is used for both noble and vassal Tuareg, and is probably derived from the verb *aher* meaning "to raid" or "to plunder" (Duveyrier 1864, p. 318. – Foucauld 1951–52, II, p. 665–674. – Prasse 1959, p. 200). Among the Northern Tuareg it may originally have been used for "noble Tuareg", who nowadays both in Ahaggar and in Tassili-n-Ajjer are known as *Ihaggaren* (sing. *Ahaggar*). It is very possible that this latter word is identical with *Hoouara* – a common name for several Berber tribes

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

placed directly under the drum-chief. The vassals counter-attacked and won the battle. They made four prisoners and took as booty two horses and several riding camels (unknown how many). As his part the drum-chief took one horse and five camels. But he also took the four prisoners to his camp. He kept them there for about a month, when they were released, dressed in new clothes, and mounted on excellent riding camels with good saddles.

(3) *ékechchedi* – perhaps written *ékejjedi* – that is booty taken by vassals during raids carried out without the permission of their noble lord. In this case the latter would take all booty for himself and leave nothing for the vassals, who were not allowed to engage in warfare and raiding on their own account – unless attacked by foreign raiders.

We see from the above-mentioned rules that the political system of the *Kel Ferwan* group is based upon a more strict relationship between noble Tuareg and vassals than among the Ahaggar Tuareg. It is very interesting that the *Kel Ferwan* vassals made no annual payments for land-rights. Any vassal tribe lived within a particular territory which was given to it by the drum-chief, and the vassals were not allowed to defend their areas without his consent. The drum-chief claimed to possess all land and he gave particular grazing grounds to particular tribes.

Even vassal Tuareg say that the drum-chief could be very strict and severe with them in the past. But here it should be remembered that there were limits to his power, as he could not refuse his subjects the right of blood-revenge. It should also be reiterated that the drum-chief was elected by his vassals, who could also dismiss him. And strictness or severeness with his vassals was not the drum-chief's normal way of conduct. Like other noble Tuareg he would normally not only associate with the vassals on intimate terms, but would also joke with them. A joking-relationship (*adélen*) related to that of cross-cousins and brothers and sisters-in-law, including sham-fights and minor "thefts", existed between all noble Tuareg and all vassals of the *Kel Ferwan* group. They would joke with each other unless there was a great difference in age. But although joking was reciprocal, it is said that the drum-chief could stop joking, in which case the vassals would "be afraid of him". "People who are different tease each other to prevent trouble", the Tuareg say. For this reason there was joking between noble Tuareg and vassals, but joking between members of these two different Tuareg classes did not occur unless they belonged to the same drum-group. There would be no joking between vassals of the *Kel Ferwan* group and noble Tuareg of the *Kel Fadey*. In this latter case there would be avoidance or strict reserve. There seems to be little doubt that joking played an important part in the maintenance of the class-division which formed the basis of political organization. It is important to mention in this context that joking among the Tuareg is a sign of friendship. It prevents conflicts and thereby it establishes a friendship relation. This is true also of present day joking between noble Tuareg and vassals, and between all Tuareg and various black-skinned people such as the *Imeggedezen* and even slaves. This particular type of joking relationship is clearly related to that between cross-cousins, the more so as joking partners of different classes or castes will very frequently address each other as *ahubaz* (pl. *ihubazen*), that is "cross-cousin". I return to the functional position of joking in Tuareg society in a later chapter.

It is said that marriages between noble Tuareg and vassals did not take place in the past. This statement seems to be almost true, for though I have enquired much into this matter I have only